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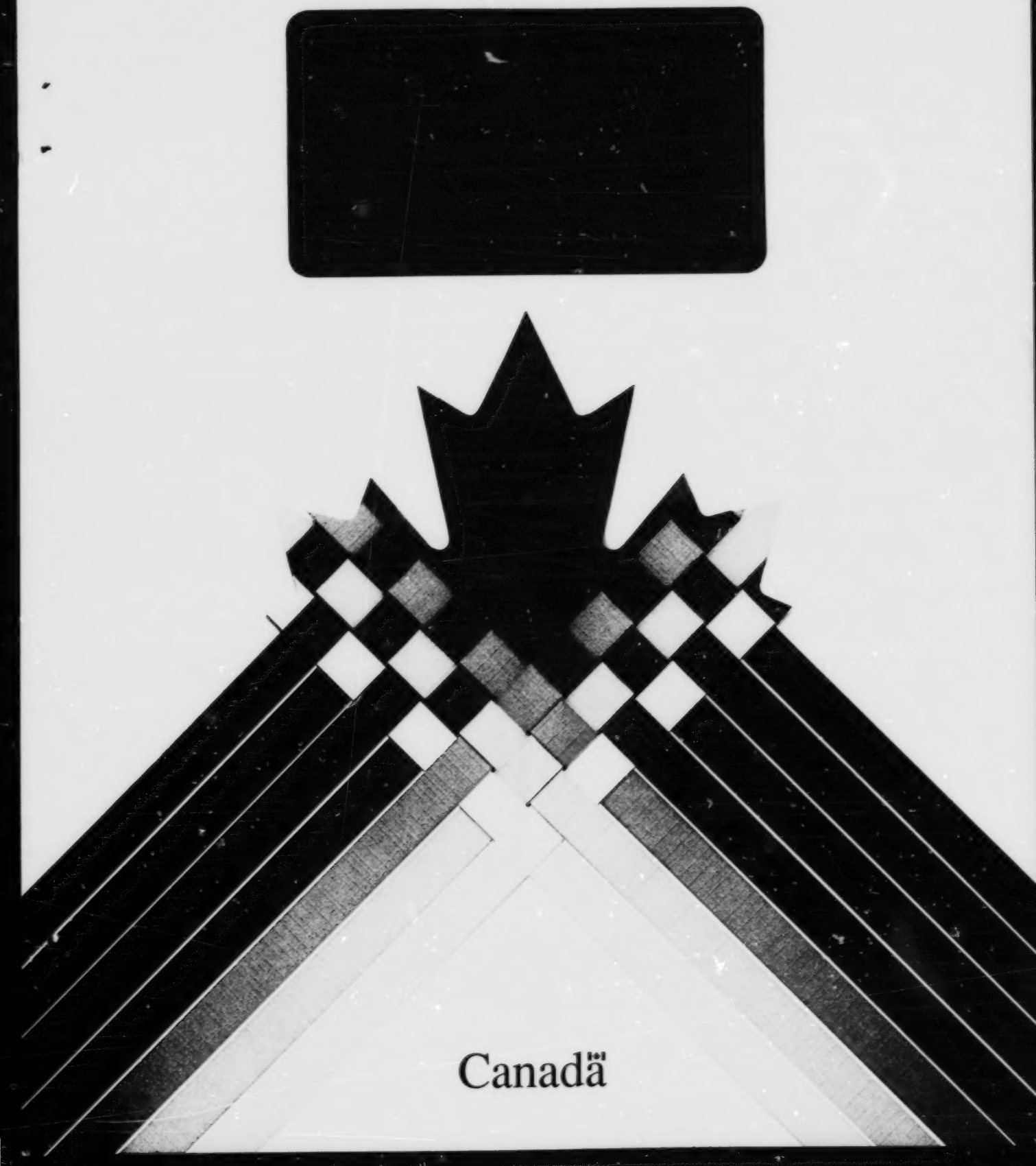

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IMAGES OF ARABS AND MUSLIMS:

A RESEARCH REVIEW

Karim H. Karim

IMAGES OF MINORITIES: RESEARCH REVIEWS

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Policy & Research
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Policy and Research
Multiculturalism Branch
Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada
25 Eddy Street
#1409
Ottawa, Ontario
KIA OM5

(819) 994-5647

The Western image of the Arab is a fascinating one - arguably more interesting than the Arabs themselves. It is not that Arabs are uninteresting. Quite the contrary, the Arab world is a diverse and interesting place, and Arabs have made important contributions to Western civilization. However, when we consider the Western image of the Arab - Ali Baba, Sindbad the Sailor, the thief of Baghdad, the slave merchant, the harem dancer, the curse of the mummy, horsemen in flowing robes attacking the foreign legion outpost, and so on - we have to admit that at least in the case of Arabs fiction is stranger than truth.

Laurence Michalak

To either ignore the tremendous impact which Islam had on science, literature, philosophy, art, poetry, medicine and jurisprudence or to treat it in a superficial and cursory manner is to introduce serious flaws into one's understanding of man's past and present. Secondly, and perhaps somewhat more important in the present context, prejudice and bias exist in many forms and fester in many environments (e.g. newspapers, magazines, television, books, work, acquaintances) ... if the student is left unprepared to identify basic kinds of distortion and error concerning Islam due to an absence, in his classes and textbooks, of information about, and insight into, this religious tradition, then he is rendered potentially vulnerable to the damaging effects of prejudice - effects which harm the individual as well as the community in which he lives.

Canadian Society of Muslims

PREFACE

Serious concerns have been increasingly expressed in recent years about the portrayals of ethnic and religious minority communities in Canada in the mass media, school textbooks and other materials. There is a growing body of literature on this relatively new area of scholarship; however, research has been hampered by a dearth of information about related materials. The Images of Minorities: Research Reviews series has been developed to provide bibliographic surveys to aid researchers working in this area.

This review of research on images of Arabs and Muslims contains references to materials that vary widely in form and content. Apart from books, monographs, booklets, articles, theses and unpublished papers, there are also bibliographic entries of videotapes and audiotapes. Short newspaper and magazine articles have not been listed, except when they appear in collected volumes. The contents of the various entries include descriptive and critical writings on the state of academic studies about Arabs and Muslims, analyses of the mass media, school textbooks and public surveys, and publications on countering stereotypes. In the interests of providing as comprehensive a bibliography as possible, a few incomplete entries are also included; full information about these materials was unavailable at the time of printing. No document of this nature can claim to provide a complete listing of all relevant materials, and even the most complete research review becomes outdated as new materials appear. This review is meant to be an initial guide for researchers and is by no means the last word on the subject.

Images of Arabs and Muslims: A Research Review

There has been an rising level of criticism over the last few decades of the manners in which Arabs and Muslims are portrayed in the West. While concern about the characterization and stereotyping of Arabs and Muslims has been focused on the mass media, images presented by television, radio, newspapers and magazines form part of a much broader array of depictions and perceptions. Present-day study of the portrayal of various peoples in the mass media has been broadened to include the analysis of image-depiction in a variety of media that include literary, artistic and musical productions and other cultural artifacts. The scrutiny of these materials as well as school textbooks is vital in comprehending how societal perceptions of others are shaped.

The researcher looking at the contemporary image of Arabs and Muslims is also becoming increasingly aware of the relevance of studying the history of the Western perceptions of these peoples over the centuries. Current understanding about the Arab and Muslim worlds as well as that of Arab and Muslim minorities in North America, Europe and Australasia is the aggregate result of millennia of contact, observation and portrayal in the popular and elite cultures of the West. The legacy of the writings of generations of scholars, polemicists and travellers has served to form nuances about the perceived natures of Arabs and Muslims that are at the basis of their contemporary characterizations. Fact and myth, the boundary between which is often blurred, intermingle in the production of present-day literature, newspaper articles and television dramas depicting the Middle East, the Muslim world and the peoples with origins in these lands.

There is a substantial body of research on the study of Western perceptions of Arabs and Muslims that has looked at a wide range of materials including television productions, newspapers, magazines, written and recorded music, advertisements, scholarly works, travel books, novels, religious literature, school textbooks, artistic works, comics, toys and other artifacts of the popular culture, perceptions of scholars and journalists, and public opinion. The methodologies employed in these studies encompass content, literary, linguistic, discursive, semiotic, dramaturgical, philosophical, epistemological, ideological, historical, historiographic, sociological, political, psychological, biographic and attitudinal analyses. However, there remain major gaps in certain areas of research such as the quantitative analysis of the media portrayal of Arabs and Muslims[1], as well as in information about the cultural encoding and de-coding of materials depicting Arabs and Muslims[2], the short and long term impacts of crisis coverage about them[3], the effects of prevalent images of the Arab and Muslim worlds on the formation of attitudes towards minorities originating from these places[4], and the impact of stereotyping on these minorities[5]. The negative portrayal of Arabs and Muslims has also not been adequately scrutinized in the context of hate propaganda[6]. And although there exists some material on ways to counter stereotyping, a handbook for popular use on understanding the negative depiction of Arabs and Muslims is not yet available[7].

If there is one book which can be identified as having been pivotal in the study of the Western image of Arabs and Muslims (as well as that of other peoples), it is Edward W. Said's Orientalism (1979). In attempting to show the relationship between knowledge, racism and power, it effectively redrew the parameters within which the discussion of the subject takes place. Said provided a forceful argument supported by a substantial body of evidence. His use of Foucauldian methodology[8] opened up the field for the consideration of the political and ideological analyses of the academic and journalistic approaches to other cultures. Said's Covering Islam (1981) went on to make the connection between academically-

constructed knowledge about Islam, the political (colonial/imperialist) contingencies related to the Orient and the media's reporting on the Muslim world.

Academic Orientalism

While Said's contributions are of critical importance, they are part of a century-old study of the academic and literary approach to the Middle East and Muslims. There has existed a long tradition of a self-conscious scrutiny of scholarly orientalism. The early writings, going back to the 1860s, were mainly by orientalists themselves and were primarily of a descriptive nature. More recent work in this area, however, has been by scholars from outside the field.

More critical research began to appear in the 1950s, a decade which also saw a number of writings by Arab and Muslim scholars. Of particular interest is an article by Walid Khalidi in which he discussed the link between medieval perceptions of the "Moor" and the "Saracen" and the contemporary images of Arabs and Muslims:

> All the fears, animosities and suspicions are reflected, sometimes explicitly and sometimes by implication, in the contemporary Western writings (as indeed they are in the Arabic writings of the time), both prose and verse, lay and ecclesiastical. They therefore form part of the literary heritage of every educated European and are imbedded in the subject matter of his general reading. Of course, the modern European and American reader would generally dismiss with a smile as quaint any hostile references to the Moor or the Saracen. But he would be less than human if he does not at the same time admit into his subconscious a smaller or larger number of prejudices. One residue of these prejudices is the facility with which the word "oriental" is still prefixed to such words as "duplicity", "cruelty", "servility", and "despotism". (1957:15)

In his broad studies of the development of the European polemic against Islam from the seventh century, Norman Daniel (1960, 1966) elaborated significantly on the theme outlined by Khalidi. However, it was A.L. Tibawi's (1963) criticism of the manner in which the academic study of Arab nationalism was generally carried out in the West that saw the emergence of a more pointed analysis of the field. Donald P. Little (1979), responding to A.L. Tibawi's 1963 article, wrote in defense of the academic study of the Arab and Muslim worlds; Tibawi (1979) replied immediately with a long rebuttal, and the battle was joined. The link between cultural stereotypes and ideology were increasingly made in the 1970s by various writers.

The critique of academic orientalism came into its own as an identifiable academic pursuit in the 1980s following the publication of Edward W. Said's Orientalism (1979). Said himself remains among the most prolific commentator in this area, continuing to produce books and articles on it. He has, however, not gone unanswered: Bernard Lewis (1982) is among the orientalists who have attempted to challenge Said's thesis. A celebrated but unresolved "shoot-out" occurred at a debate titled "The Scholars, the Media, and the Middle East" at the twentieth anniversary conference of the Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America on November 22, 1986.

Some writers on academic orientalism have begun to go beyond the critique of the field to suggest specific strategies for authentic approaches by both Muslims and non-Muslims. Mohammed Arkoun, who has proposed a deconstructive methodology for the study of Islam, has written:

> Scholars teaching and publishing at the highest level remain prisoners of the image of a provincial, ethnographic Islam, locked into its classical formulations inadequately and poorly formulated in contemporary ideological slogans. The living core of Islam in the perspectives mentioned is increasingly hidden by both the classical orientalist discourse and by the revolutionary Islamic discourse. A growing number of silent voices await the possibility to speak, to express a rich experience rooted in the core of Islam; when this political possibility comes about, will learned scholars start to write new views with a new spirit? ... those scholars engaged in a continuous struggle to create new spheres of freedom, to give new intellectual articulations to the silent voices, are those who harmonize their thoughts with their concrete involvement and their involvement with their thought (**al-ᶜilm bi-l-ᶜamal wal-ᶜamal bil-ᶜilm**). (1988:72-73)

Literature, Travel Writing and School Textbooks

Apart from the writings about orientalism, several other identifiable sub-topics exist in this area of research. Two of these sub-topics are the study of how the Orient has been treated in European and North American fiction and in the writings of travellers to the East. As with the works looking at academic orientalism, the earlier writers on orientalist fiction and travel writings tend to be mainly descriptive while the later ones are more critical. Of all the novels dealing with Muslims and published in the West, more ink has been spilled on the reaction to one written by Salman Rushdie, a lapsed (but later re-affirmed), Indian-born Muslim living in Britain.[9]

The scrutiny of the portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in school textbooks does not appear to have begun until the 1960s, and seems to have declined in recent years. Various studies of Canadian and American history and social science texts found that information on Arabs and Muslims was either incomplete, incorrect or biased.

The Mass Media

Unbalanced news reporting of events such as the Gulf war, the Rushdie affair, hostage takings in Lebanon and terrorist incidents in the Middle East have served to create impressions that Arabs and Muslims do not share values in common with the civilized world. According to Edward W. Said, the resurgence of strong religious feelings among Muslims in various parts of the world has led to a form of reporting by the Western media that serves more to mystify than to explain events occurring in the Muslim world:

> It has given consumers of news the sense that they have understood Islam without at the same time intimating to them that a great deal in this energetic coverage is based on far from objective material. In many instances, "Islam" has licensed not only patent inaccuracy but also expressions of unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural and even racial hatred, deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility. All this has taken place as part of what is presumed to be fair, balanced, responsible coverage of Islam. Aside from the fact that neither Christianity nor Judaism, both of them going through quite remarkable revivals (or "returns"), is treated in so emotional a way, there is an unquestioned assumption that Islam can be characterized limitlessly by means of a handful of recklessly general and repeatedly deployed clichés. And always it is supposed that the "Islam" being

talked about is some real and stable object out there where "our" oil supplies happen to be found. (1981:xi)

Apart from many broader studies of media coverage of Arabs and Muslims, a significant amount of research has appeared on the reporting of specific "stories" and aspects of the media's treatment of such events as the hostage crisis in Iran, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Intifada uprising in the West Bank and Gaza, the civil war in Lebanon, the conflict between the United States and Libya, the war in Afghanistan, and the Gulf war. Reporting of terrorism in the Middle East and the impact of media coverage of the Arab and Muslim worlds on the foreign policies in Canada and the United States have also been analyzed.

Scholars have even looked at the depiction of Arabs and Muslims in facets of popular culture in West including folk songs, toys, masks, comics, television dramas, advertising and films. Jack Shaheen wrote the following about a classic cinematic rendering of an autobiography by T.E. Lawrence, an early-twentieth century traveller to the Orient:

> *Lawrence of Arabia* is a reflection of how non-Arabs, the English, perceive Arabs. The theme of cultural domination prevails; celluloid Arabs do not yet speak for themselves. This helps explain why scores of Arab heroics are excluded and why the film focuses on a brave Englishman, not a valiant Arab.
>
> *Lawrence of Arabia* contains compelling cinematography and engrossing performances, but its theme is a triumph of the British over the Orient. More spectacle than art, the movie should be remembered not only for its impressive desert landscapes, its garbled history and stereotypical Arabs - but for what it might have been. The image-makers should not be faulted for concentrating on Lawrence. But they should be soundly criticized for deifying Lawrence at the expense of the Arabs.[10]

Several researchers have studied public attitudes towards the Arab world, and the responses of minority communities to the images of Arabs and Muslims. Quoting from Jacques Berque, Fatima Houda-Pépin offered the following "points of information" to journalists and the public in order to correct misperceptions that lead to distortions about Arabs and Muslims:

1. Arabs are not all Muslims;
2. Muslims are not all Arabs;
3. Muslims are not all Shiites and Shiites are not all pro-Khomeiny;
4. Islam is not the only religion involved in politics. (1987:3)

Conclusion

The level of activity now occurring in studying the image of Arabs and Muslims in a wide variety of materials is indicative of the problem that exists in the negative portrayal of these peoples. Images formed over centuries are integral to the collective memories of cultures and do not change overnight. Those individuals and organizations working to present more factual pictures of Arabs and Muslims are becoming increasingly aware that in order to be effective they need to understand the history of the previous Western portrayal of the "Moor", the "Saracen" and the "Mohammedan".

Cross- and inter-cultural communication between European peoples and the Arabs and Muslims has existed for millennia; yet problems continue to remain in understanding each other. Sophisticated methods of present-day communication studies are being used by researchers to uncover the structures of biases in the portrayal of Arabs and Muslims in the West as well as the causes behind them. Similar studies need to be done of Arab and Muslim depictions of the West. There is also a need for additional research and materials that would assist members of both cultures to bridge the gulf between them. While this need is especially critical for Arab and Muslim minorities living in North America, Europe and Australasia, these communities - which are now themselves part of the West - have a historic opportunity for creating mutual understanding and respect among all peoples in their neighbourhoods and their countries.

Notes

1. See entries in Nancy Signorielli's Role Portrayal and Stereotyping on Television: An Annotated Bibliography on Studies Relating to Women, Minorities, Aging, Sexual Behaviour, Health, and Handicaps (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985).

2. Cf. Stuart Hall, "Encoding/decoding," in Stuart hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe and Paul Willis (eds.), Culture, Media, Language (London: Hutchinson, 1980), pp. 128-138.

3. A broad array of artifacts that negatively depicted Iraqis and Arabs and Muslims in general appeared in Western countries during the Gulf war. A number of reports of harassment of Arab and Muslim minorities were also reported during the conflict. While there are conjectures about the relationship between the two phenomena, little scientific study has been done on this.

4. Links between international and domestic situations were also emphasized during the Gulf War. Articles such as Daniel Pipes' alarmist "The Muslims are Coming! The Muslims are Coming!" The National Review (November 19, 1990), 28-31 played upon the fear of American (and other Western) readers about the situation in Kuwait and attempted to extend it to the readers' own neighbourhoods in a sensationalistic manner. A promotional card for the cover story declared: "Many Westerners feel more threatened by their Muslim immigrant neighbours than by Saddam Hussein".

5. Cf. Frances E. Aboud, in "Children and Prejudice: Conceptual Issues", a paper presented a conference on Education in Plural Societies: Intergroup Research and Practices in Intergroup Relations" held in Vancouver in December 1989, drew a relationship between media coverage of ethnic groups and its effect on preschool minority children.

6. With the exception of the study done by Amyn B. Sajoo (1900), little research of this nature has come to light.

7. Apart from some general references in media literacy handbooks, detailed guidelines on studying bias against Arabs and Muslims are rare. Cf. Populot Educational Resources, Detecting Prejudice: A Handbook for You on Discrimination in Visual Materials (Toronto: Williams-Wallace, n.d.) and Eleanor MaClean, Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the News and Everyday Life. Montréal: Black Rose, 1981.

8. Cf. Michel Foucault, Les Mots et les choses: Une Archaeology des sciences humaines (Paris: 1966); the title of the English translation is The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Knowledge (New York: Vintage, 1970). For a comprehensive bibliography of Foucault's writings see Colin Gordon, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977 (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

9. The Satanic Verses (London: 1988).

10. Jack Shaheen, "Lawrence of Arabia: Memorable For What It Is, Regrettable For What It Might Have Been", Washington Report on the Middle East (November 1989), 15, 56.

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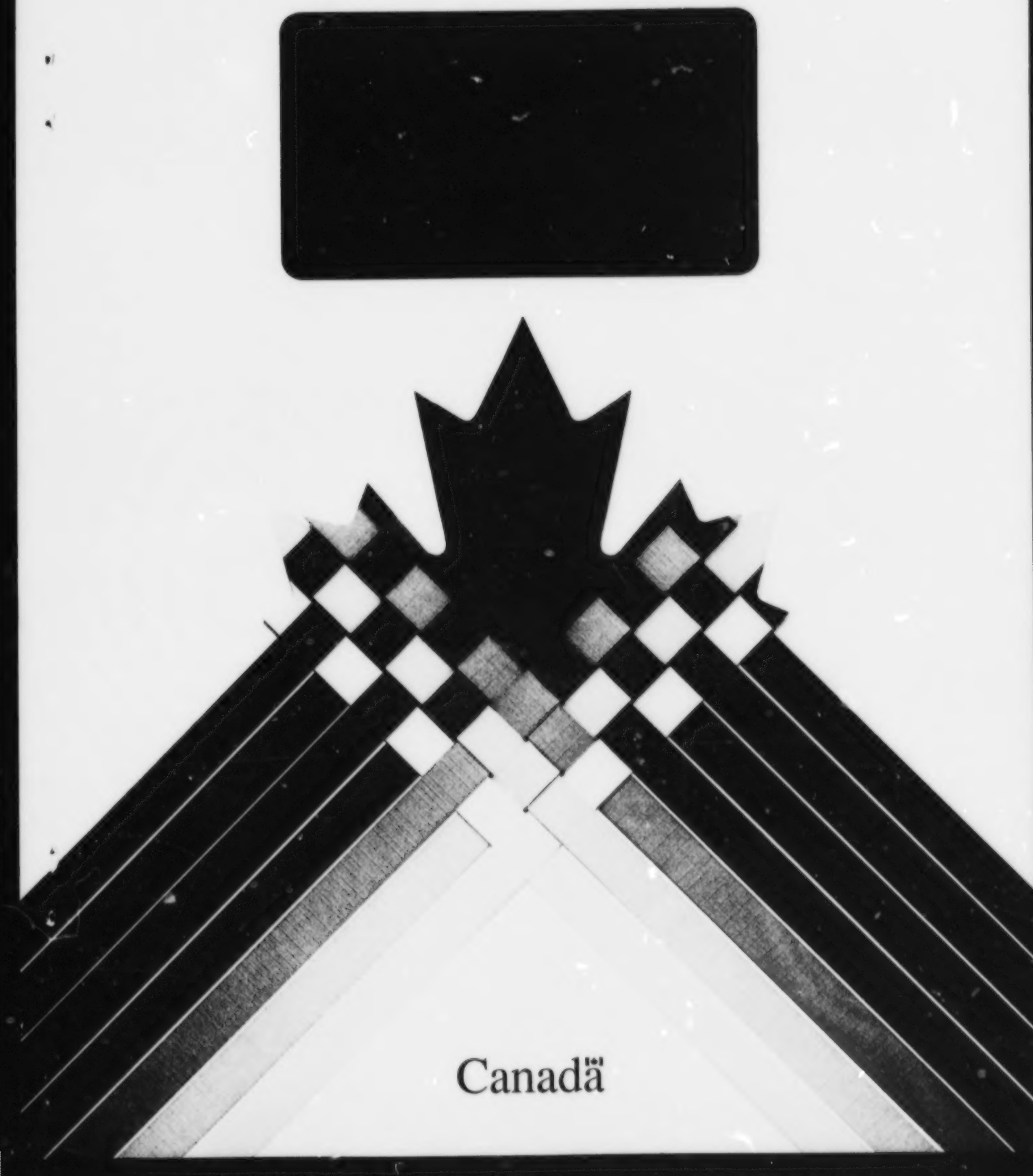
Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté Canada

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada



Canadä

ÉBAUCHE

IMAGES DES ARABES ET DES MUSULMANS:

RECENSION DE LA RECHERCHE

Karim H. Karim

IMAGES DES MINORITÉS : RECENSIONS DE LA RECHERCHE

Avril 1991

Politiques et recherche
Secteur du multiculturalisme
Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté

Les opinions exprimées dans le présent document sont celles de l'auteur et ne représentent pas nécessairement les vues du ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté.

Les sujets envisagés pour les prochaines publications de la série **Images des minorités: récessions de la recherche**:

Images des autochtones du Canada
Images des peuples d'origines africaines
Images de Juifs
Images des personnes du Sud-Asiatique
Images des personnes d'Asie orientale
Images des minorités d'origine européennes
Images des femmes appartenant à une minorité visible
Images des immigrants
Images des minorités dans la publicité
Images des minorités dans les manuels scolaire
Documents pour contrer les stéréotypes
Les Minorités et les médias: Examen de documents canadiens
Les Minorités et les médias: Examen de documents non-canadiens

Politiques et recherches
Secteur du multiculturalisme
Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté Canada
25, rue Eddy
#1409
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0M5

(819) 953-8286

(traduction)
L'image de l'Arabe à l'Ouest est fascinante – on pourrait dire qu'elle est plus intéressante que les Arabes eux-mêmes. Ce n'est pas que les Arabes sont dépourvus d'intérêt. Au contraire, le monde arabe est diversifié et fascinant, et les Arabes ont apporté des contributions importantes à la civilisation occidentale. Cependant, quand on songe à la façon dont l'Occident voit l'Arabe – Ali Baba, Sindbad le marin, le voleur de Bagdad, le marchand d'esclaves, la danseuse du ventre, la malédiction de la momie, les cavaliers, la robe au vent, attaquant un poste de la Légion étrangère et ainsi de suite –, il nous faut reconnaître que, dans le cas des Arabes du moins, la fiction dépasse la réalité.

Laurence Michalak

Négliger l'énorme influence qu'a exercée l'Islam sur les sciences, la littérature, la philosophie, les arts, la poésie, la médecine ou le droit ou en parler d'une manière superficielle ou hâtive, c'est introduire de grandes lacunes dans sa compréhension du passé et du présent de l'homme. Aussi, et c'est peut-être ce qui importe le plus dans le contexte, les préjugés existent sous différentes formes et couvent dans de nombreux milieux (par ex. les journaux, les revues, la télévision, le travail, l'entourage) .... Si l'étudiant n'est pas formé à voir les distorsions ou les erreurs fondamentales concernant l'Islam parce que ses cours et ses manuels scolaires n'abordaient pas cette tradition religieuse, il sera peut-être vulnérable aux effets néfastes des préjugés – des effets qui nuisent tant à la personne qu'à la collectivité dans laquelle elle vit.

Canadian Society of Muslims

PRÉFACE

Ces dernières années, la représentation des minorités ethniques et religieuses dans les médias de masse, les manuels scolaires et d'autres documents est de plus en plus l'objet de fortes préoccupations. Un nombre croissant d'ouvrages paraissent sur ce relativement nouveau domaine d'érudition, mais la recherche est entravée par le manque d'information sur les sujets connexes. La série Images des minorités : recension de la recherche a été créée pour fournir des bibliographies afin d'aider les chercheurs oeuvrant dans le domaine.

Cette recension de travaux de recherche sur l'image des Arabes et des Musulmans présente des documents de toutes formes et au contenu très varié. On y trouve des livres, des monographies, des dépliants, des articles, des thèses et des ouvrages inédits, de même que des cassettes vidéo et audio. Les listes ne comprennent pas les articles de journaux et de revues de longueur limitée, sauf lorsqu'ils sont tirés d'ouvrages. Elles présentent notamment des descriptions et critiques des études érudites menées sur les Arabes et les Musulmans, des analyses des médias de masse, de manuels scolaires et d'enquêtes menées auprès du public, ainsi que des publications sur la lutte aux stéréotypes. Pour que la bibliographie soit la plus exhaustive possible, elle contient aussi quelques inscriptions incomplètes, parce que nous ne disposions pas de tous les renseignements au moment d'aller sous presse. Aucun document de cette nature ne peut prétendre fournir la liste complète de tous les ouvrages se rapportant au sujet, et même les recherches les plus complètes deviennent dépassées quand paraissent de nouveaux documents. Cette recension se veut un guide pour les chercheurs et ne représente aucunement le dernier mot sur le sujet.

Images des Arabes et des Musulmans : recension de la recherche

La façon dont on parle des Arabes et des Musulmans en occident fait l'objet de plus en plus de critiques depuis les 20 à 30 dernières anneés. Si, à propos des stéréotypes sur ces peuples, les médias de masse sont pointés du doigt, la télévision, la radio, les journaux et les revues présentent un éventail encore plus large d'images et de perceptions. L'étude de la représentation des divers peuples dans les médias de masse a été élargie pour comprendre des analyses de l'image qui leur est donnée dans différents médias, comme les productions littéraires, artistiques et musicales et autres produits culturels. L'examen minutieux de ces documents ainsi que des manuels scolaires est essentiel pour comprendre comment se forment les perceptions sociétales.

Le chercheur qui se penche sur l'image contemporaine des Arabes et des Musulmans prend graduellement conscience de l'utilité de regarder la façon dont l'Occident a vu ces peuples au fil des siècles. Ce que l'on connaît actuellement des mondes arabe et musulman ainsi que des minorités arabes et musulmanes d'Amérique du Nord, d'Europe et d'Australasie est le fruit de millénaires de contacts, d'observation et de représentation dans les cultures populaire et d'élite de l'Occident. Les écrits que nous ont laissés des générations d'érudits, de polémistes et de voyageurs contribuent à former des nuances sur la nature arabe et musulmane telle qu'on la voyait alors, nuances qui sont à la base des images qui leur sont accolées aujourd'hui. Les faits et les mythes, qu'il est souvent difficile de distinguer, se mêlent dans les ouvrages littéraires, articles de journaux et dramatiques pour la télévision sur le Proche-Orient, le monde musulman et les personnes originaires de ces régions.

Une quantité considérable de travaux concernant la façon dont l'Occident voit les Arabes et les Musulmans ont porté sur tout un éventail de documents, dont des émissions de télévision, des journaux, des revues, des chansons et paroles de chansons, des messages publicitaires, des recherches érudites, des récits de voyage, des romans, des ouvrages religieux, des manuels scolaires, des produits artistiques, des bandes dessinées, des jouets et d'autres objets de la culture populaire, les impressions d'érudits et de journalistes, de même que l'opinion publique. On a procédé à des analyses du contenu et des analyses littéraires, linguistiques, rhétoriques, sémiotiques, dramaturgiques, philosophiques, épistémiologiques, idéologiques, historiques, historiographiques, sociologiques, politiques, psychologiques, biographiques et attitudinales. Il reste cependant de grandes lacunes dans certains domaines de recherche, comme l'analyse quantitative de la représentation des Arabes et des Musulmans dans les médias[1], ainsi que dans l'information sur le codage et le décodage des documents sur les Arabes et les Musulmans[2], les conséquences à court et à long terme de la couverture de crises à leur sujet[3], les effets de l'image couramment répandue des mondes arabe et musulman sur la formation d'attitudes à l'égard des minorités originaires de ces régions[4], et l'impact des stéréotypes sur ces minorités[5]. La presse négative sur les Arabes et les Musulmans n'a cependant pas été examinée dans le contexte de la propagande haineuse[6]. Et, bien qu'il existe des documents sur la façon de contrer les stéréotypes, on ne dispose pas encore de guide de vulgarisation sur la représentation négative des Arabes et des Musulmans[7].

S'il est un ouvrage que l'on peut qualifier d'essentiel dans l'étude de l'image occidentale des Arabes et des Musulmans (ainsi que d'autres peuples), c'est Orientalism, d'Edward W. Said, paru en 1979. L'auteur, en essayant de faire ressortir le rapport entre la connaissance, le racisme et le pouvoir, réussit à redéfinir les paramètres du sujet. M. Said présente une argumentation puissante étayée de nombreuses preuves. En utilisant une méthode de Michel Foucault[8], il pave la voie à l'examen des analyses politiques et idéologiques des approches érudites et journalistiques appliquées à d'autres cultures. Dans son ouvrage Covering Islam, paru en 1981, M. Said poursuit son

cheminement en établissant un lien entre la connaissance de l'Islam fabriquée par les universitaires, les contingences politiques (colonialisme/impérialisme) se rapportant à l'Orient et les reportages des médias sur le monde musulman.

Orientalisme

Même si l'apport de M. Said est d'une extrême importance, il s'inscrit dans une étude de l'approche érudite et musulmane au Proche-Orient et aux Musulmans qui date d'un siècle. Or, il existe une longue tradition d'examen de l'orientalisme. Les premiers ouvrages, qui remontent aux années 1860, émanaient surtout d'orientalismes et étaient essentiellement de nature descriptive. Les travaux plus récents dans le domaine proviennent cependant d'érudits de l'extérieur du domaine.

Une plus grande quantité de recherche critique a commencé à faire apparition dans les années 1950, décennie qui a aussi vu quelques travaux réalisés par des érudits arabes et musulmans. À ce propos, un article de Walid Khalidi est particulièrement intéressant et aborde le lien entre les perceptions médiévales des "Maures" et des "Sarrasins" et les images contemporaines des Arabes et des Musulmans :

(traduction)

> Les craintes, les animosités et les doutes se retrouvent tous, parfois explicitement et parfois implicitement, dans les écrits occidentaux contemporains (comme dans les écrits arabes de l'époque), qu'ils soient en prose ou en vers, laïques ou religieux. Ils font donc partie du bagage littéraire de tout Européen instruit et sont enracinés dans ses lectures générales. Bien entendu, le lecteur européen et américain moderne qualifierait de pittoresques les références hostiles aux Maures ou aux Sarrasins. Mais il ne serait pas humain si, en même temps, il ne laissait pas entrer dans son subconscient un nombre plus ou moins élevé de préjugés. Un reste de ces préjugés est la facilité avec laquelle le mot "oriental" vient encore qualifier des expressions telles que "duplicité", "cruauté", "servilité" et "despotisme". (1957, c. 15)

Dans ses vastes études sur la naissance de la polémique européenne contre l'Islam à partir du septième siècle, Norman Daniel (1960, 1966) a abordé en détail le thème défini par M. Khalidi. Cependant, c'est A.L. Tibawi (1963), qui a critiqué la façon dont le nationalisme arabe est généralement étudié en Occident, qui a vu l'émergence d'une analyse plus lourde de sens de l'orientalisme. Donald P. Little (1979), répondant à l'article de A.L. Tibawi publié en 1963, a défendu l'étude qui est faite des mondes arabe et musulman; M. Tibawi (1979) a immédiatement répondu par une longue réfutation, et la bataille était engagée. Divers auteurs, dans les années 1970, ont de plus en plus établi un lien entre les stéréotypes culturels et l'idéologie.

La critique de l'orientalisme est devenue une matière académique en soi dans les années 1980, après la publication de l'ouvrage Orientalism d'Edward W. Said (1979). M. Said reste lui-même parmi les commentateurs les plus prolifiques du domaine, produisant encore livres et articles sur le sujet. Il n'est cependant pas sans adversaires : Bernard Lewis (1982) est parmi les orientalistes qui ont essayé de contester les thèses de M. Said. Ainsi, un débat resté célèbre mais sans gagnant a eu lieu sur le thème "les érudits, les médias et le Proche-Orient", à l'occasion de

la conférence marquant le vingtième anniversaire de la Middle Eastern Studies Association of North America, le 22 novembre 1986.

Des auteurs sur l'orientalisme ont commencé à s'éloigner de la critique pure pour proposer des stratégies en vue de l'adoption de méthodes authentiques par les Musulmans et les non-Musulmans. Mohammed Arkoun, qui a proposé une méthodologie constructive pour l'étude de l'Islam, a écrit :

> (traduction)
> Les érudits qui enseignent et qui publient des écrits au plus haut niveau restent prisonniers de l'image d'un Islam provincial, ethnographique, enfermé dans ses formulations classiques improprement adaptées à des slogans idéologiques modernes. Le coeur de l'Islam dans les perspectives mentionnées plus haut est de plus en plus masqué par le discours orientaliste classique et par le discours islamique révolutionnaire. Un nombre croissant de voix silencieuses attendent la possibilité de parler, d'exprimer une riche expérience enracinée au coeur de l'Islam; lorsque la possibilité politique se présentera, les érudits apprendront-ils à mettre sur papier de nouvelles vues dans un nouvel esprit? ... Ces érudits engagés dans une lutte permanente pour créer de nouvelles sphères de liberté, pour donner de nouvelles articulations intellectuelles aux voix silencieuses, sont ceux qui harmonisent leurs pensées avec leur participation concrète et leur participation avec leurs pensées. (1988, pp. 72-73)

La littérature, les récits de voyages et les manuels de classe

Outre les écrits sur l'orientalisme, il existe dans ce domaine de la recherche, des ouvrages sur plusieurs autres sous-thèmes. Nous en retiendrons deux, soit la façon dont l'Orient a été traité dans le roman européen et nord-américain et les écrits des voyageurs qui ont parcouru l'Est. Comme pour l'orientalisme savant, les premiers ouvrages concernant les oeuvres de fiction et les récits de voyages sont surtout descriptifs, tandis que ceux parus plus tard sont plus critiques. De tous les romans portant sur les musulmans publiés en Occident, c'est celui de Salman Rushdie, un musulman non pratiquant (mais reconverti plus tard) né en Inde et vivant en Grande-Bretagne.[9], qui a fait couler le plus d'encre.

L'étude de la façon dont les Arabes et les musulmans sont dépeints dans les manuels de classe ne semble pas s'être amorcée avant les années 60, et connaît un certain déclin depuis quelque temps. Divers travaux concernant les manuels d'histoire et de sciences sociales canadiens et américains ont montré que les renseignements sur les Arabes et les musulmans y étaient incomplets, incorrects ou empreints de préjugés.

Les médias

Des nouvelles non pondérées sur des événements comme la guerre du Golfe, l'affaire Rushdie, les prises d'otages au Liban et les incidents terroristes au Proche-Orient ont contribué à donner l'impression que les Arabes et les Musulmans n'ont pas les mêmes valeurs que le monde civilisé. Selon Edward W. Said, la renaissance d'un fort sentiment religieux chez les musulmans de

diverses parties du monde a donné lieu, dans les médias occidentaux, à une forme de reportage qui sert davantage à mystifier les lecteurs qu'à expliquer les événements qui se déroulent dans l'Islam :

> (traduction)
> Elle a donné aux consommateurs d'informations le sentiment d'avoir compris l'Islam sans, en même temps, leur avoir fait comprendre qu'une bonne part de ces énergiques reportages se fondent sur des sources qui sont loin d'être objectives. Dans de nombreux cas, le terme «Islam» a ouvert la voie non seulement à des inexactitudes flagrantes, mais à l'expression d'un ethnocentirsme débridé, d'une haine culturelle voire raciale, d'une hostilité profonde et pourtant, paradoxalement, en flottement libre. Tout ceci s'est produit dans le cadre de ce que l'on croit être une «couverture» équitable, équilibrée et responsable de l'Islam. Sans tenir compte du fait que ni le christianisme ni le judaïsme, qui tous deux traversent une renaissance (ou un «retour») assez remarquable, ne sont traités de façon aussi émotive, il existe une hypothèse indéniable voulant que l'Islam puisse être qualifiée sans retenue au moyen d'un petit nombre de clichés entièrement généralisés et répétés à satiété. Et toujours, l'on suppose que l'«Islam» dont il est question est une sorte d'objet réel et stable, là bas, là où se trouvent «nos» réserves de pétrole. (1981, xi)

À part de nombreuses études sur la façon dont les médias traitent les Arabes et les musulmans, un nombre important de travaux de recherche ont paru sur la facture de certains «reportages» et diverses facettes du traitement par les médias de certains événements comme la crise des otages en Iran, le conflit israélo-arabe, le soulèvement de l'Intifada sur la rive occidentale et à Gaza, la guerre civile au Liban, la confrontation entre les États-Unis et la Libye, la guerre en Afghanistan et la guerre du Golfe. Les informations sur le terrorisme au Moyen-Orient et l'effet du traitement médiatique des mondes arabe et musulman sur la politique étrangère du Canada et des États-Unis ont également été analysés.

Certains chercheurs ont même examiné la représentation des Arabes et des musulmans dans la culture populaire occidentale, y compris dans les chants folkloriques, les jouets, les masques, les bandes dessinées, la publicité, les dramatiques télévisées et le film. Voici ce qu'écrit Jack Shaheen sur le grand classique du cinéma, dont le scénario est fondé sur l'autobiographie de T.E. Lawrence, qui voyagea en Orient au début du vingtième siècle :

> (traduction)
> Lawrence d'Arabie montre comment les Arabes sont perçus par des non-Arabes, soit les Anglais. Le thème de la domination culturelle y prévaut; ces Arabes de celluloïd ne s'expriment pas encore en leur propre nom. On peut comprendre pourquoi de multiples héros arabes en sont exclus et pourquoi le film met en scène un brave Anglais, et non pas un courageux Arabe.
>
> Lawrence d'Arabie présente des images merveilleuses et un jeu d'acteurs remarquable, mais il a pour thème le triomphe des Britanniques sur l'Orient. Il faudra se rappeler ce film, spectacle bien plus qu'oeuvre d'art, non seulement pour ses impressionnantes vues du désert, ses faits historiques déformés et ses Arabes stéréotypés, mais pour ce qu'il aurait dû être. Il ne faut pas reprocher au cinéaste d'avoir concentré son attention sur Lawrence, mais il mériterait d'être ouvertement critiqué pour l'avoir déifié, au détriment des Arabes.[10]

Plusieurs chercheurs ont étudié l'attitude du public à l'égard du monde arabe et la réaction des communautés minoritaires à la représentation des Arabes et des musulmans. Citant Jacques Berque, Fatima Houda-Pépin, du Centre maghrébin de recherche et d'information soumet à la presse et au grande public les «points d'information» suivants pour corriger les idées fausses qui entraînent des préjugés sur les Arabes et les musulmans :

1. Les Arabes ne sont pas tous musulmans;
2. Les musulmans ne sont pas tous arabes;
3. Les musulmans ne sont pas tous chiites, et les Chiites ne sont pas tous pro-Khomeiny;
4. L'Islam n'est pas la seule religion qui soit mêlée à la politique. (1987, 3)

Conclusion

Le niveau d'activité que connaît actuellement l'étude de la représentation des Arabes et des musulmans est une indication du problème que soulève la représentation négative de ces populations. Les images forgées au fil des siècles font partie intégrante de la mémoire collective des cultures et ne peuvent être modifiées du jour au lendemain. Les personnes et les organismes qui cherchent à présenter un portrait plus factuel des Arabes et des musulmans se rendent de plus en plus compte que, pour y réussir, il leur faut comprendre l'histoire de l'image que l'Occident se faisait autrefois du «Maure», du «Sarasin» et du «Mahométan».

La communication interculturelle entre les peuples européens d'une part et les Arabes et les musulmans d'autre part existe depuis des millénaires; pourtant la compréhension mutuelle pose encore des problèmes. Les chercheurs ont aujourd'hui recours à des méthodes raffinées pour étudier les communications, de manière à découvrir la structure des préjugés qui entachent l'image des Arabes et des musulmans en Occident ainsi que les causes qui en sont à l'origine. Il faudrait que des études analogues soient effectuées sur la perception de l'Occident dans le monde arabe et musulman. Il faudrait aussi davantage de recherches et de documents pour aider les membres des deux cultures à combler l'écart qui les séparent. Certes, ce besoin est particulièrement critique pour les minorités arabes et musulmanes d'Amérique du Nord, d'Europe et d'Australasie, mais ces collectivités - qui font maintenant partie intégrante de l'Occident - ont maintenant une occasion sans précédent de susciter la compréhension mutuelle et le respect entre tous les peuples, dans leurs milieux et dans leurs pays.

Notes

1. Voir les références fournies dans l'ouvrage de Nancy Signorielli intitulé Role Portrayal and Stereotyping on Television: An Annotated Bibliography on Studies Relating to Women, Minorities, Aging, Sexual Behaviour, Health and Handicaps, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1985.

2. Cf. Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding", Culture, Media, Language, sous la dir. de Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Andrew Lowe et Paul Willis, Hutchinson, Londres, 1980, pp. 128-138.

3. Tout un éventail d'objets calomniant les Irakiens, les Arabes et les Musulmans en général ont fait leur apparition dans les pays occidentaux pendant la guerre du Golfe. Un certain nombre de cas de harcèlement à l'endroit des minorités arabes et musulmanes ont aussi été rapportés pendant le conflit. Même si on se demande si les deux événements sont liés, peu de recherches approfondies ont été menées sur le sujet.

4. Pendant la guerre du Golfe, des liens entre les situations internationale et nationale ont aussi été établis. Divers écrits comme l'article alarmiste de Daniel Pipes "The Muslims are Coming" The Muslim are Coming" (Les Musulmans débarquent! Les musulmans débarquent!), paru dans The National Review, le 19 novembre 1990, pp. 28-31, ont joué sur la crainte ressentie les lecteurs américains (et d'autres Occidentaux) à l'égard de la situation au Koweit et cherchaient, en faisant appel au sensationnalisme, à étendre cette crainte au voisinage des lecteurs. Une fiche de promotion pour l'article de fonds disait : "Un grand nombre d'Occidentaux craignent davantage leurs voisins musulmans que Saddam Hussein".

5. Cf. Frances E. Aboud, dans "Children and Prejudice: Conceptual Issues", document présenté lors d'une conférence intitulée "Education in Plural Societies: Intergroup Research and Practices in Intergroup Relations", tenue à Vancouver en décembre 1989. L'auteure tisse un lien entre la couverture médiatique sur les groupes ethniques et l'effet de celle-ci sur les enfants d'âge préscolaire des minorités.

6. À l'exception d'une étude menée par Amyn B. Sajoo, en 1990, peu de recherche de cette nature a été diffusée.

7. Outre quelques références d'ordre général dans des guides d'alphabétisation, rares sont les lignes directrices détaillées sur les préjugés contre les Arabes et les Musulmans. Deux guides sont largement diffusés au Canada, dont celui de Populot Educational Resources, Detecting Prejudice: A Handbook for You on Discrimination in Visual Materials, Williams-Wallace, Toronto, n.d., et celui d'Eleanor MaClean, Between the Lines: How to Detect Bias and Propaganda in the News and Everyday Life, Black Rose, Montréal, 1981.

8. Cf. Michel Foucault, Les mots et les choses : Une archéologie des sciences humaines, Paris, 1966. Pour une bibliographie exhaustive des ouvrages de M. Foucault, voir Colin Gordon, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Pantheon, New York, 1980.

9. The Satanic Verses, Londres, 1988, paru en français sous le titre Les Versets sataniques.

10. Jack Shaheen, "Lawrence of Arabia : Memorable For What It Is, Regrettable For What It Might Have Been", Washington Report on the Middle East, novembre 1989, 15, 56.

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Karim Aga Khan; John K. Cooley; Bruce B. Lawrence; Edward Mortimer; Fatima Houda-Pépin; Jack Shaheen.

Culture populaire

F.M. Chambers; Laurence Michalak; Pamela B. Nelson.

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Films

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Publicité

K.L. Allesandrini and A.A. Sheikh; Robert MacGregor and Stuart McKelvie.

Enquêtes attitudinales

R.H. Curtiss; David Newsom; Shanti Iyengar and Michael Suleiman; Prix Jeunesse Foundation/Fondation Prix Jeunesse; S. Slade; Michael W. Suleiman; Robert H. Trice; Jack Zubrzycki.

Manuels de classe

William Griswold; Sharon Abu-Laban; Ayad al-Qazzaz; Canadian Society of Muslims; Perry Glen; Samir A. Jarrar; Leonard M. Kennedy; Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt; Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission/Commission des droits de la personne de la Saskatchewan.

Minorités

Baha Abu-Laban and Faith T. Zeadey; Alyakdhan Al-Hinai; Andrea Barron, Rachelle Marshall, Pat McDonnell Twair, Edward Breidas and Richard Curtiss; Rachad Antonius; B.R. Borciurkiw; Noam Chomsky; Asghar Fathi; Fatima Houda-Pépin; Paul Findley; Karim H. Karim; Mary Mouammar; Edward W. Said; Israel Shahak; Jack Shaheen; Ahmed Shboul; David Taras and Daphne G. Taras; David Taras and David H. Goldberg; James J. Zogby.

Oeuvres de fiction

M.J. Ali; Hassan Al-Nouty; Mordechai Briemberg; Jean Bruneau; Jean-Marie Carré; Kathleen Christison; William W. Comfort; Martha P. Conant; Norman Daniel; Jean-Luc Doutrelant; Fouzi El-Asmar; Marie E. de Meester; Dorothee Finkelstein; Martine Loutfi; Marwan M. Obeidat; Gregory Orfalea; Gaston Paris; Y. and Charles Pellat; M. Plessner; C.D. Rouillard; Edward W. Said; R. Schoewbel; Byron P. Smith; Janice J. Terry; Nancy V. Workman.

Les Versets Sataniques

Reza Afshari; Shabbir Akhtar; Lisa Appignanesi and Sara Maitland; Shiraz Dossa; Anthony Hartley; Fatima Houda-Pépin; John Fraser; Rana Kabbani; Bruce King; Gerald Marzorati; Roger Mason; Ali Mazrui; Mohammad Mehdi; William G. Millward; Edward Mortimer; Stan Persky; Daniel Pipes; James A. Reilly; Salman Rushdie; Malise Ruthven; Amyn B. Sajoo; W.J. Weatherby; Marc Wills.

Orientalisme érudit

Avant 1950

A.J. Arberry; Maurice Barrès; V.-V. Barthold; Theodor Benfey; Henri Dehérain; Marie E. de Meester; R. de Vaux; U. Monneret de Villard; H.G. Dorman; M.-L. Dufrenoy; Gustav Dugat; D.G. Hogarth; Louis Massignon; Vernon McKay; Jules Mohl; John P. Nash; C.D. Rouillard; Nathaniel Schmidt; Byron Porter Smith; E.A. Speiser.

1950-1959

Norman Daniel; G. Levi Della Vida; Johann W. Fück; H.A.R. Gibb; I. Hassan; George C. Keiser; Walid Khalidi; Menachem Mansoor; P. Masson-Oursel; Eric Stokes.

1960-1969

M. Abdel-Halim; Anour Abdel-Malek; A.J. Arberry; Morroe Berger; Claude Cahen and Charles Pellat; Erskine B. Childers; Martha P. Conant; Norman Daniel; Johann W. Fück; F. Gabrieli; H.A.R. Gibb; René Girard; Manfred Halpern; P.M. Holt; Albert Hourani; Maxime Rodinson; Jean Sauvaget; R.W. Southern; M. Taha-Hussein; A.L. Tibawi; C.H. Phillips; Jacques Waardenburg.

1970-1979

Syed H. Alatas; M.J. Ali; Talal Asad; Ali Banuazizi; Jean Bruneau; Edmund Burke; Jean-Luc Doutrelant; Hichem Djaït; A.R. Ehrenkreutz; Alain Grosrichard; Irène Ferrera-Hoechstetter; Terry B. Hammons; Albert Hourani; Helen M. Kearney; Bernard Lewis; Abdullah Laroui; Donald P. Little; Peter Mansfield; Paul Marijnis; James Monroe; Sari Nasir; Roger Owen; William Polk; Ayad Al-Qazzaz; Maxime Rodinson; Edward W. Said; Stuart Schaar; Paul and Susan Starr; Michael W. Suleiman; Stephen E. Tabachnick; A.L. Tibawi; Bryan S. Turner; Montgomery Watt.

Après 1980

Ervand Abrahamian; Sadruddin Aga Khan; Khurshid Ahmad; M.M. Ahsan; Samir Amin; Mohamed Arkoun; Farhad Dalal; Shiraz Dossa; Carl L. Brown; Hasan Eaton; Harmut Fäahndrich; Richard Fletcher; D. Grafflin; Aziz Haider; N.M. Hasan; J. Haynes; A. Hussain, R. Olson and J. Qureishi; Albert Hourani; Elie Kedourie; M.A. Khan and M. Hamidullah; Bernard Lewis; Lata Mani and Ruth Frankenberg; MESA; Abdul-Rahman Momin; H.Q. Murad; Azim Nanji; James Paul; Maxime Rodinson; Oussama Romdhani; Edward W. Said; Amyn B. Sajoo; Linda S. Schilcher; E. Sivan; A.L. Tibawi; Bryan S. Turner; Robert Young.

Télévision, radio, journaux et revues

William C. Adams and Phillip Heyl; Ayman Al-Yassini; A. W. Ata; Canadian Society of Muslims; Centre Maghrébin de Rechercheet d'Information; Marie Choquet; Edmund Ghareeb; Robert Hershman and Henry L. Griggs; Fatima Houda-Pépin; M. Hudson and R. Wolfe; John Kirton, Jack Barei and Edi Smockum; Edward W. Said; Jack Shaheen; N. Smith and L.J. Theberge; Michael Suleiman; John R. Walker; Anab Whitehouse.

Afghanistan et Asie centrale soviétique

Levon Chorbajian; Mary W. Walsh.

Anouar Sadate

Magda Bagneid and Steven Schneider; Karim H. Karim; Achal Mehra; Norma Salem-Babakian.

Conflit Israëlo-Arabe

M. Adams and C. Mathew; Tahsin M. Bashir; Claremont Research and Publications; Montague Kern; John Kirton, Jack Barei and Edi Smockum; Judith H. Magee; Oussama el-Mohtar; Roger Morris; Edward W. Said; Michael Suleiman; Robert H. Trice.

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L'Intifada

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Liban

Kristina Reigert; Ann P. Saab; Tuen Van Dijk; Ruth Wodak; Laurence Zuckerman.

Libye

Noam Chomsky; Rainer Mathes; Anthony Shugaar.

Politique étrangère

David Dewitt and John Kirton; T.A. Keenylside, W.C. Soderland and B.E. Burton; James F. Larson; S. Morsey; Denis Stairs.

Le Terrorisme

Tony Atwater; William J. Brown; Noam Chomsky; Bernard Johnpoll; Karim H. Karim; Charles Krauthammer; Jack Lule; Mohammad T. Mehdi; P. Sainath; Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graff; Gabriel Weimann.

Récits de voyage

Thomas Assad; Richard Bevis; Robin Bidwell; Henri Bordeaux; Jean-Marie Carré; Alphonse de Lamartine; Gretchen K. Fallon; Karim H. Karim; Bernard Lewis; Stephen Tabachnick; Franklin Walker.